871 Ciscaucasia, and Tiflis and Baku in Transcaucasia. In 1913, 3,665 elementary schools were open, and this number was to be increased to 4,220. Secondary or middle schools, divided into Realgymnasia, Gymnasia, and Progymnasia, were also on the increase. The Province of Kuban had the largest number of secondary schools (27), and the Province of Kars the lowest (2). Schools and institutes for the training of teachers were on the increase, and the Polytechnic Institution in contemplation at Tiflis was to embrace agricultural, chemical, economic, and mechanical sections. £210,512 had been collected for this purpose, of which Baku had contributed £42,105, with the petition that a mining section should be added. The Board of Education in 1913 granted permits for 57 new private schools, of which about 234 existed. Movable summer schools for the education of the nomad tribes were attempted for the first time in 1913 in the Governments of Erivan and Kutais. The industrial schools included 22 secondary and lower-grade technical schools, 5 trade schools, 14 lower-grade trade schools, and 3 charitable trade schools.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

• 181 For nearly a century this region, inhabited by small nationalities of pronounced racial feelings and varied religions, has been welded together by the constraining force of a single dominant power.

The Mohammedan hill-tribes, conquered by superior force, unprogressive, brave, and violent by nature, valued their lost independence more than the peace which Russia's strong hand and impartial justice secured. The Christians, on the other hand, at first grateful for the protection afforded them, began, with increased education and a higher standard of living, to resent the effects of autocratic government and the cramping economic conditions.

The disturbances of 1902–5, though they were

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

sternly repressed, left seeds of unrest behind them; and the provinces were probably on the road to a serious effort to secure autonomy, when the European War, and later the Russian Revolution, shattered the existing system. Since May 26, 1918, when the Transcaucasian Diet proclaimed its own dissolution, there have existed three independent republics in what used to be Russian Caucasia—the Armenian Republic, the Georgian Republic, and a Tatar Republic in the eastern Caucasus. Of these the eastern republic presents by far the most formidable problem. It is manifestly impossible to leave the Tatars of the eastern Caucasus, with the wild hill-tribes of Daghestan, to their own devices. The vital importance to Europe of the oil-fields in this region makes the problem here exceptionally pressing.

505 first place, followed, up to the outbreak of the Balkan War, by vessels under the Greek flag. Only Russian-owned vessels trade on the Caspian Sea.

Shipping facilities both on the Black and Caspian Seas were equal to all demands; on the former the majority of the vessels from abroad arrived in ballast, as imports nowhere balanced exports.

Particulars of shipping at the principal ports in 1909 and 1913 are given in Table I of the Appendix (p. 92).

(c) *Telegraphic and Wireless Communications*

206 The Indo-European Telegraph Co. has a line running from Julfa by Erivan, Tiflis, Zugdidi, Sukhum Kale, Tuapse, Ekaterinodar, and Temryuk to Chushka Point, whence two submarine cables belonging to the company cross the Kerch Straits to Yenikale. Land telegraph lines connect Batum with Constantinople *via* Trebizond. A submarine cable connects Baku with Krasnovodsk in Transcaspia.

Batum possesses a wireless telegraph station, installed in 1911, in communication with Sevastopol. A wireless station with a range of 267 miles connects Petrovsk with Fort Alexandrovsk in Transcaspia, and another of the same power was opened at Baku in 1914. Funds were assigned in that year for erecting stations at Novorossiisk and Poti.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Labour

(a) *Labour Supply; Immigration and Emigration*

463 Agriculture forms the occupation of the majority of
181 the inhabitants of the Caucasus, though in many cases it is pursued in combination with other activities. The numerous peoples of which the population consists (see above, pp. 8–12*) naturally show very various capacities for labour and prejudices with regard to it. The people of Caucasian or Georgian stock are cultivators of the land and keepers of flocks and herds, with little taste

* [see cat. 116 -- Analyst]

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

for industrial work; many of them, especially those of the mountainous districts, are very backward (as are also the Kurds and Ossetes), but the Lesghians and Gruzians are reliable and hard-working, and constitute the best native labour supply. The Armenians, on the other hand, find their most congenial employment in trade and usury, though a good many of them are employed on the oil-fields; the Russian colonists make good agriculturists, but are often idle and intemperate; while the Tatars, who in general are farmers and breeders of sheep and cattle, are also the predominant element on the Baku oil-fields.

The native labour supply, however, is insufficient for the country's requirements on the oil-fields and elsewhere, and there has been a considerable *immigration* for some years past, the chief sources being as follows:

(i) *Russian.* — When Transcaucasia came under Russian rule in 1878, the State replaced the many Abkhasians and Circassians who left the country by considerable numbers of Russian colonists. Russian settlers have been planted by the State on the reclaimed lands of the Mughan and Mil steppes. There is a seasonal movement of some 300,000 labourers from Central Russia into Ciscaucasia for the harvest. *Artels*, or combines of Russian skilled workers, numbering from 10 to 50 persons, move about the country undertaking various sorts of contract work, and earn high wages.

(ii) *Armenian.*—Except in the two or three years following the establishment of the Young Turk Government, there has been a steady stream of immigration from Turkish Armenia to the Caucasus. This immigration increased during the persecution of the Armenians in 1915, but the fate of the refugees since the Turco-German occupation of the Caucasus is uncertain. Echmiadzin, in the Government of Erivan, the residence of the Armenian Patriarch, was regarded as the national capital of the Armenians.

(iii) *Turkish* labour is imported for the tea plantations on the Black Sea coast, and for the copper mines in the Batum district.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

potamia, Syria and Egypt, and from the Anti-Taurus to the upper waters of the Halys and the Lycus they give access to all Western Asia Minor, the wealthiest lands of the lords of Constantinople. Thus, both for reasons of trade and of war, neither the rulers of Iran nor of Asia Minor have dared to allow their rival to establish control of the Armenian Plateau. The history of Armenia and the adjacent lands is therefore mainly a record of a tedious and always indecisive struggle for control between their neighbours of the West and of the East. Rome and Parthia, Byzantium and Persia, Byzantium and the Eastern Khalifat, Seljuk and Mongol, Osmanli and Persian, have in turn fought for the control and have wasted their manhood and their wealth in the struggle. In all these wars the valleys of the Rion and the Kur have constituted a route by which the western and eastern combatants have endeavoured alternately to outflank the other.

If these age-long wars were exhausting to the contending Empires, they were disastrous to the peoples inhabiting the disputed lands. They have had a radical effect on the development of the two suffering races, Armenians and Georgians. The history of these two races may be divided into three phases: firstly, the long periods when they were under the political influence, but not under the direct domination, of their eastern, western or northern neighbours; secondly, the shorter period when they were under the actual rule of a foreign race, and formed an integral part either of the Arab, the Byzantine, the Mongol, the Turkish, the Persian or the Russian Empires; and thirdly, the brief periods when political upheavals affecting one or all of their neighbours have allowed them to establish their complete independence.

And if Armenian and Georgian history is mainly a record of treachery, violence and cruelty, it is well to remember that both races were involved in a struggle in which they had no interest, and in which each combatant came as an invader. Also it must be remembered that perpetual warfare prevents the development of all culture, and produces as the dominant types, not the progressive statesman, the enlightened scholar, the prosperous merchant, and the industrious peasant, but the ambitious soldier of fortune, the time-serving politician who must always apprehend a change of masters, the merchant who has no security for his trade and must bribe for his safety, and the peasant driven desperate by oppression, who finds brigandage or service in foreign armies more remunerative than sowing for the invader to reap or burn.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tatar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

1 [of the Cherkess--Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

Of these the Kubachins,[1] skilled armourers, the Kurins and the Tabasserans—the two latter tribes probably descendants of Persian colonists—were the most peaceable, industrious and civilised, while the Avars were the most warlike. All the Daghestanli tribes were organised on a patriarchal and extremely democratic basis—the chiefs being elective and controlled by councils of elders. To quote Hanway—"as they live under a kind of republican government, the distinction paid to him (the chief) is not very considerable."[2]

Distinct, racially and politically, from the other mountain tribes were the Ossets, who, divided into four main tribes—Digurins, Tagaurs, Kutatins and Alaghirs—were settled over the southern slopes of the Central Caucasus and in the valley of the Upper Araghva. Their social organisation, with its divisions into classes of nobles and serfs, corresponded in many respects to that of the western tribes.

The mountaineers possessed the accepted characteristics of all semi-civilised peoples: on the one hand reckless courage, extreme generosity, hospitality, loyalty, respect for the aged and love of animals; on the other hand a sensibility to offence and a childish vindictiveness which was expressed in perpetual and blood-thirsty vendettas, extreme personal vanity, a disinclination to submit to discipline or to undertake regular work, cruelty, callousness and violence.

All travellers unite in praising the hospitality of the mountaineers. "They fulfil the duties of hospitality with the most scrupulous attention, and both the host and his guest style one another *conacco*,[3] which is synonymous with *hospes* in Latin. On the departure of the latter, his host escorts him to another lodging, protects him, and, if necessary, risks his own life in defence of his guest. Though it has been observed that robbery is so general in this country that it may be considered as a regular profession, they nevertheless manifest the utmost fidelity to their conacci or guests.[4] Of the Ingushes Klaproth says, "At entertainments the host always waits upon his guests, and eats only what the latter throw him."[5]

The chief occupation and interest of the tribes lay in perpetual raids against their neighbours, or against the inhabitants

[1] Chantre, basing himself on Kubachin legends, suggests that this community was of Greek origin, the descendants of a colony of armourers settled by the Persian Kings at Derbend (Chantre, iv, 228).

[2] Hanway, i. 373.

[3] The Italianised form of "kunakh."

[4] Klaproth, p. 336, Dubois de Montpereux, i, 88, both quoting Interiano.

[5] Klaproth, p. 349.

103 Caucasians also call the Pontos the "Black Sea" (Georgian Šavi Zγva).

Later, in Arabic and Persian geographical and historical literature, forms of the name of these mountains such as Qabaq, Qabuq (?) appear, and a similar form Qāf or Qāp, becomes the general term for the Caucasus throughout the Near and Middle Eastern Islamic world (in Turkic Qāf daγlary, etc.), forms which have some slightly remote relationship with the old Iranian and Western term.

181 For a long time the Caucasus was, and
132 in a certain sense still is, a great divide between two rather different worlds: on the one hand, Trans-Caucasia, which is culturally Mediterranean and Near Eastern, and climatically arid and sub-tropical; and on the other, the North-Caucasian plains, a cultural no-man's land, the transitory roaming-grounds of nomadic peoples, and climatically belonging to the continental zone of the vast East European plains. The steppes of the northern
133 Caucasian triangle between Don-Volga and the
167 Caucasus have been, down to the last two centuries, the battlefields between ever-changing nomadic conquest groups, arriving one after the other in an almost unending sequence out of the high plains of Central and Eastern Asia, trying to force their way into the territories of the Persian or the Roman Empires, which had their outer defenses established in these plains. But even prior to those movements,

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RH1 Caucasia RH1

Northwesterners" and "North Caucasians." In our present study we have considered the use of such terms quite permissible, for we have spoken of periods of *adat*-history during which the laws were more or less uniform. But were the marriage and family customary laws so uniform *before* the pastoral nomadic influences set in? What were these laws like? That is the problem of the future. It is a problem which cannot be solved by one man alone, nor can it be solved by one branch of Caucasology alone. It is a problem all branches and all students of Caucasian culture must solve together, not today, not tomorrow, but perhaps only after many decades of intense work.[73]

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[73] In solving this problem the Caucasologist may not overlook the results of D. J. Wölfel's many years of research regarding the culture of peoples possessing similar economic forms of life as we find in the Caucasus today.

Prof. Wölfel has traced two extensive Neolithic pastoral-agrarian cultures from Ireland, down to Southern France, Spain, Switzerland, Tyrol, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Mediterranean region, especially what he terms "White" Africa, Caucasus, the Near East up to the Himalayas. In Europe the cultures are certainly pre-Indo-European, while in Africa they are pre-Hamitic. In the Caucasus, Africa, and Near East they must have preceded the flourishing cultures of Egypt, Assyria, etc., in other words, certainly before the fifth millenium B. C.

There are two cultures in question: the "Ziehbauerkultur" and the "Gebirgsbauerkultur." Both economies are known to the Caucasians!

The "Ziehbauer" are semi-nomadic peoples with summer pastures in the mountains and winter pastures in the lowlands, sometimes several hundred miles apart. They have permanent houses in villages situated on the side of a mountain, where they live whenever not actually with their herds. Originally only sheep and goats were raised, and today usually only sheep and goats are taken from their summer to their winter pastures. These semi-nomads have special customary laws regarding the pastures as well as the strip of land used by the flocks when passing from one pasture to another. These pastoral peoples are at the same time agrarians: their fields are located near their villages, and sometimes they even plough up a patch near the winter pasture. This particular economy is spread over "White" Africa, the mountain countries of the Mediterranean, in Spain, especially in the Pyrenees, in France, the Balkans, among the Slavs, in Greece, Iran, and the Caucasus.

The "Gebirgsbauerkultur" differs from the former culture in as much as large cattle and not sheep or goats are the main domestic animals. The second difference lies in the fact that these pastoral-agrarians have only summer-pastures (in the highlands), the stall and fodder replacing the winter-pastures. This culture possesses peculiar wooden containers, and distinctive forms of cheese and butter. The typical house is a rectangular building, sunk partly into the side of the mountain; the walls of the groundfloor are of stone while the upper story has wooden walls. The beams between the two stories project in front forming a balcony. The towers, which are so commonly seen in Caucasian villages, are also found in other parts of the world where this particular form of economy is met with. The towers are not only used for defense among these warlike peoples but also as store-rooms. The culture is spread over "White" Africa, among the Basques, in the Alps, Scandanavia, British Isles, the Carpathian Mountains, the Balkans, the Caucasus and in the mountains of Central Asia. (Cf. D. J. Wölfel, "Die Hauptprobleme Weissafrikas," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XXVII (1942), No. 4.)

According to Prof. Wölfel the *mobačestvo*, fosterage, and not a few of the elements we have classified as coming into the Caucasus from Inner Asia are social phenomena peculiar to these Neolithic cultures.

We wish now to enumerate a number of marriage and family customs which seem to hint at some sort of actual relationship with the "Zieh-" or "Gebirgsbauer."

Prof. Wölfel, for example, has called my attention to a parallel of the Cherkess and Ossetine corset-ceremony (*supra*, p. 113) found in Tyrol. E. Westermarck (Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, London, 1914, p. 232) mentions a custom according to which the groom is obliged to untie knots before the consummation of marriage.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl

4. Retrospect

(1) *The marriage and family customary laws of all North Caucasian tribes are astoundingly similar.*

(2) *Their marriage and family adats agree essentially with those of their Caucasian and non-Caucasian (Turco-Mongolian and Indo-European) neighbours.*

(3) *This similarity must be attributed especially*[78] *to common unifying principles.*

(4) *In historical times the unifying principles in question were: Russian (Soviet and pre-Soviet) influences, Islam, Christianity, Roman-Byzantine law, Avesta.*

(5) *The great similarity in marriage and family adats of the North Caucasians must be attributed especially to pastoral nomadic influences originating in Inner Asia.*

Other parallels which I have found in Westermarck's work and which will serve to prove that the oldest cultures of Caucasia cannot be studied without keeping Prof. Wölfel's theory in mind are the following: (1) the frequent use of honey in connection with marriage (*op. cit.*, p. 29); (2) the custom of placing a raw egg in bowl of grain (*op. cit.*, p. 90) and scattering the grains. In this case, however, the sister of he bride does the scattering. (3) The crossing of swords to protect the bride from evil spirits (*op. cit.*, pp. 99, 108, 123, 152, 162) is also found in the Caucasus (*supra*, p. 124); however, this custom may have come by way of Islamism. (4) The bride and groom eat sheep's liver to insure concord and love (*op. cit.*, p. 101; *supra*, p. 117); in the Caucasus sheep's heart is eaten instead. (5) Stones are thrown at a shrine by the participants of the wedding procession. Westermarck interprets this custom as a means of driving away and killing the Yiblis; among the Ossetes the shrine is pelted as a fertility rite. (6) In the Caucasus flour is poured on the bride (*supra*, p. 118); in Morocco flour is smeared on the groom (*op. cit.*, p. 147) and milk is poured on the bride. In these ceremonies in both countries it is the whiteness of milk and flour that is stressed, white representing nuptial joy. (7) In the Caucasus a little boy is placed in the lap of the bride so that she may soon become the mother of a boy; in Morocco a boy is placed immediately behind the bride as she rides in the procession from her home to that of her groom. (8) Then there are such customs as giving the bride a stroke as a sign of her husband's authority over her. (*Supra*, p. 119), *op. cit.*, pp. 158 f.) In Palestine this blow is given with a stick as soon as the bride crosses the threshold. (9) Or again, there is the custom of throwing stones at the bride when the procession begins to leave her father's home (*op. cit.*, pp. 176 f); in the Caucasus, among the Andi, we find the custom of throwing filth at her (*supra*, p. 119). (10) After the virginity test has taken place—just as is the case in the Caucasus—the hymenal blood on the garment is exhibited or a gun is fired announcing her virginity (*op. cit.*, pp. 236 f, 242, 254); but this custom may easily be of Semitic or Hamitic origin. (11) As soon as the bride arrives, her mother-in-law offers her some milk (*op. cit.*, pp. 194, 210); in the Caucasus she smears honey on the bride's lips (*supra*, p. 124).

There are of course other similarities that might be mentioned, but these are probably of Islamic, Arabic, or Hamitic origin. Some of the Hamitic practices (and therefore pastoral nomadic!) are: (1) on the wedding day or shortly before fetching the bride, the cloak of the groom is pulled over his face, just as among the Abkhaz (*op. cit.*, pp. 102, 105 f, 112; *supra*, p. 123); (2) on arriving at her new home, the bride must immediately hide behind a curtain, attended to only by a few female friends (*op. cit.*, p. 105; *supra*, p. 124). (3) A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutume kabyles*, 1893, mention a number of other pastoral nomadic elements. (See especially volume II, pp. 149, 154, 177, 187, 188, 191, 219.)

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
[Osset]

territory comprising 1,200 square miles was a national triumph for Georgia, for it enabled her, for the first time, to spread out to the north of the Caucasus.

S.U. 563 634

A 'GOOD' PEOPLE – THE OSSETINS

After the expulsion of the Chechens from their homeland the Ossetins became the largest mountain people of the Northern Caucasus. In 1939 there were altogether 354,000 Ossetins in the U.S.S.R. of whom slightly less than two-thirds lived in the Autonomous Republic of Northern Ossetia, with which we are here primarily concerned, and about one-third in the Southern Ossetin Autonomous Province of Georgia. The two Ossetin territories adjoin each other and it would have been logical to amalgamate them into a single Autonomous Republic. Representatives of the two Ossetias went to Moscow in October 1925 to discuss the unification of their people with the Soviet central Government and personally with Stalin whose own mother is of Ossetin origin. This discussion which is briefly referred to in the seventh volume of Stalin's complete works, was inconclusive. The unification of the Ossetins would have been possible only at the expense of Georgia and the Kremlin was apparently not prepared to harm the interests of one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a minor nationality.

Ca. 181 [62] 642 S.U. 563 631

Czarist and Bolshevik authorities agree in their appraisal of the comparatively peaceful and placid Ossetins, no less than in their judgment on the turbulent Chechens. Of course, both régimes had encountered difficulties among the Ossetins, too, but never on the same scale as in the case of other Caucasus mountain peoples.

Ca. 181

Czarist Russia started the conquest of the Ossetins in the period of Catherine II and skilfully exploited the class differences among them as well as their hostility toward their western neighbours – the Kabardinians. Many Ossetins considered the establishment of Russian rule as a safeguard against the danger of attacks by more warlike mountain peoples. Ossetin folk-songs of the early epoch of Russian conquest reflect a pro-Russian spirit and state unequivocally that living under Russian rule was identical to living in peace.

Ca. 175 177

The Ossetins appreciated that Russian occupation and protection enabled them to settle in the plain from which they had been driven by the Kabardinians. Part of that re-settlement had already started in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major part of the re-settlement action was, however, carried out much later, between the twenties and the forties of the nineteenth century.

The Ossetins were of use to Russia not only as settlers, but also as soldiers. As early as the last years of the eighteenth century a number of Ossetin officers distinguished themselves in Prince Potemkin's army in